

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mrs. Christine Dodson  
Staff Secretary  
National Security Council

REFERENCE : Your Memo dated 19 May (NSC-3043)

Christine:

Attached is the summary outline you requested.  
Please note that it is classified SECRET. Any  
use of it in connection with some unclassified  
effort should be cleared with us. [redacted]

I understand that [redacted] is acquainted  
with [redacted]

[redacted]  
B. C. Evans

State Dept. review  
completed

Date 25 May 1978

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MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Human Rights Developments in the USSR,  
January - May 1978

The Soviet crackdown against human rights activists and Jewish refuseniks has been particularly severe during the first 4-5 months of 1978. A number of trials have already been held in this period, resulting in stiff sentences for various forms of "anti-Soviet activity." Other prosecutions are pending and no doubt will produce similar results. On the emigration front, Soviet officials have been relatively lenient in granting exit visas to Jews this year, but prominent refuseniks (those denied exit permission by the Soviets) and certain religious groups have been stymied in their efforts to leave.

This situation is likely to continue. Regime tactics have been generally successful in hindering, if not completely suppressing, dissident activity. The morale of the small core of activists is very low, and their hopes for the future are bleak. Soviet authorities are aware of the adverse foreign reaction their policy has produced, but they seem willing to meet this criticism head on. The leadership may well believe that any concessions to international pressure on the human rights issue would gain them little credit and embolden dissidents to even greater activism.

Criminal Prosecutions

A number of dissidents initially arrested in 1977 have been brought to trial since the beginning of this year. The various chapters of the CSCE Monitoring Group have been particularly hard hit. Most of the defendants have been charged under the provision prohibiting anti-Soviet activity and have received the maximum sentence possible. Charges of parasitism--failure to hold a job--have been used against some dissidents as well. The following cases are especially noteworthy.

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Yuriy Orlov, convicted 18 May of engaging in anti-Soviet activity. He received the maximum 7-year prison term, with 5 years of internal exile to follow. The trial proceedings violated some provisions of Soviet law.

Mykola Matusevich and Miroslav Mironovich, members of the Ukrainian CSCE chapter, convicted in March of anti-Soviet activity and given the maximum sentence.

Zviad Gamsakhurdia and Merab Kostava, members of Georgian CSCE chapter, convicted in May of anti-Soviet activity. Received 3-year prison terms, to be followed by 2 years of internal exile. Sentence was "mitigated" by their confessing and implicating a former US Embassy officer, Igor Belousovich, and US reporters, David Shipler and Alfred Friendly, in their "crime."

Grigoriy Goldshteyn and Peter Vins, members of Georgian and Ukrainian branches respectively, received one-year sentences during trials in March and April, on charges of parasitism.

Balis Gayauskas, a Lithuanian associate of Aleksandr Ginsburg (see below), received a 10-year prison term in March for his part in administration of the Solzhenitsyn Fund. His sentence was increased due to his previous criminal record, a 25-year prison term for nationalist activity in Lithuania that he completed in 1974.

#### Pre-Trial Investigations

The official investigations into the alleged criminal activity of several other dissidents have still not been completed. As a result, many of them have been in prison more than a year without being officially charged. Recently, moreover, there have been new arrests. As a result, the trials of leading dissidents are likely to continue for the next year or so. As with dissidents already convicted, anti-Soviet activity is the principal charge against most of those under arrest, but in the case of Anatoliy Shcharanskiy the charges are much more ominous. The following list is a catalogue of several pending trials.

Anatoliy Shcharanskiy, a Soviet computer specialist, will probably be charged with treason.

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Shcharanskiy may be accused of having passed information to US correspondents on Soviet military uses of imported foreign technology, information which is considered a state secret by the Soviets, even though Shcharanskiy did not use classified materials to prepare his report. No date has been set for his trial, but the official investigation period ends June 15. High level discussions between US officials and officials of the Soviet Embassy in Washington have taken place regarding a possible prisoner swap involving him.

Aleksandr Ginzburg will apparently be tried in early June on a charge of anti-Soviet activity. His major offense in Soviet eyes has been the administration of the Solzhenitsyn Fund which was established by the exiled Soviet writer to aid political prisoners and their families. Ginzburg, like Shcharanskiy, was a member of Orlov's CSCE Monitoring Group.

Vladimir Shelkov, 80-year-old leader of the Seventh Day Adventists, was arrested in Tashkent in March 1978 along with several associates. He has previously spent 23 years in Soviet prisons and camps. His appeal to President Carter on behalf of Ginzburg and Orlov, as well as his efforts to inform signatories of the Helsinki Accords about Soviet persecution of the Adventists, probably led to his arrest.

Aleksandr Podrabinek, leader of a committee monitoring Soviet abuses of psychiatry for political purposes, was arrested in Moscow this month. He had previously been warned by the KGB to emigrate or face prosecution. His refusal has led not only to his arrest, but to the arrest of his brother, Kirill, on charges of illegal possession of firearms and ammunition. Kirill is now serving a 2 1/2-year prison term.

Other members of the Ukrainian, Armenian, and Georgian branches of the CSCE Monitoring Group were arrested last year and presumably will be tried sometime this year for anti-Soviet activity. They include O. Berdnik and L. Lukyanenko in the Ukraine, R. Nazarian, Sh. Arutunyan, and D. Khlatyan in Armenia, and Viktor Rtskhiladze in Georgia.

### Emigration

Soviet emigration policy has proceeded on two different tracks since August 1977. Emigration restrictions on Jews have been relaxed, resulting in the greatest exodus of Soviet Jews since 1972-73. Yet, refuseniks, Pentecostal Christians, and others have run into an official stonewall in their attempts to leave. Soviet officials have done little to publicize their more lenient policy on emigration and little to hide their intransigence in the face of those who publicize their desire to emigrate. This approach could be designed to relieve some of the emigration backlog created since the cutback after 1973 and, at the same time, to impress upon refuseniks the idea that public pressure to emigrate will be counterproductive.

Jewish Emigration. The Dutch Embassy in Moscow, which handles Israeli visa requests, issued approximately 8,000 during the first four months of 1978. The Dutch expect this trend to continue. If so, emigration could reach 24,000 by the end of the year, an almost 50 percent increase over 1977.

Refuseniks. Few have been allowed to exit this year, and many have been subjected to considerable harassment and intimidation by Soviet officials. Previous access to state secrets is often cited as the basis for Soviet refusal to grant exit permission. The following cases are indicative of the Soviet approach.

--Pavel Abramovich and Grigoriy Rozenshtein were temporarily detained and threatened with prosecution on the charge of parasitism.

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- Viktor Kalninsh, a Latvian dissident who has already spent 10 years in a Soviet labor camp, was given an exit permit, only to have it subsequently revoked when he refused to testify against other dissidents. His relatives in the US have written letters to a number of US congressmen on his behalf.
- Iosef Begun has been arrested for violation of passport restrictions, i.e., residing unlawfully in Moscow.
- Jessica Katz, sick child of Moscow refusenik Boris Katz, has been denied exit permission to come to the US to receive special medical treatment available only in the US.
- Vladimir Slepak has been notified that his son, who also wishes to emigrate, must report for induction into the Soviet Army. The son has gone into hiding rather than report, since such service would prevent his emigration for as much as five years after his tour was completed. The authorities have not as yet apprehended the son, but they appear to be holding the threat of his arrest over his father to inhibit the latter's activities as a leader of the dissident community.

Pentacostal Christians. Various religious sects have sought to emigrate en masse. Their spokesmen have claimed that as many as 20,000 wish to emigrate. In February, Soviet Academician Andrey Sakharov presented appeals at the US Embassy on behalf of almost 1,600 families in the Ukraine and Belorussia for assistance in emigration. Other groups residing in the Far East have made similar requests to little avail. Some of their leaders have been threatened with arrest, and many others have suffered various forms of harassment.

Family Reunification. Soviet officials have been particularly obstructive in dealing with family reunification cases. The US Embassy reported in March that only one of the 126 cases it was

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handling had been successfully concluded. Two cases have been prominently featured in the media this year.

--Irina McClellan, wife of a University of Virginia professor, has staged numerous demonstrations in support of her request to emigrate. She has been arrested on a number of occasions, most recently outside the US Embassy during Secretary of State Vance's visit to Moscow, but has not been detained for more than a few hours. Soviet officials assert that her previous access to state secrets prevent her emigrating, but there are indications that they may now be willing to let her go.

--The Agapovs, family of a Soviet merchant sailor who defected to Sweden in 1974, have attempted to leave the USSR by legal and illegal means. Although Swedish authorities have raised the case with the Soviets, they do not expect any success at this time.

Forced Emigration and Exile. Soviet officials have used this tactic in the past to get rid of undesirable dissident activists. Usually it is made clear that if the individual stays, he will be subject to arrest and prosecution. Valentin Turchin, former head of the Soviet chapter of Amnesty International, left the Soviet Union in this manner this year. Dina Belina, a refusenik and close friend of the Shcharanskiy family, was also suddenly given a two-week exit period in which to leave, effectively preventing her from participating in Shcharanskiy's trial. On other occasions the regime has deprived Soviet residents abroad of their citizenship, effectively preventing them from returning home. This stratagem was most recently used against General Pyotr Grigorenko and Mstislav Rostropovich and his wife.

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